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NATO CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

SUBJECT: POLITICAL ANALYSIS: KIRILENKO'S BOOK: NEW LIGHT
ON SOVIET OFFICIAL THOUGHT

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1. EDITORIAL CHANGES RECENTLY MADE IN THE ORIGINAL TEXTS
OF SPEECHES AND ARTICLES BY DEPUTY CPSU LEADER
ANDREY P. KIRILENKO SUGGEST THAT HE HAS A PERSONAL INTER-
EST IN SEEING:

(A)--PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS,
BUT NOT NECESSARILY REGULARIZED SUMMIT CONFERENCES;

(B)--A SLOWDOWN IN THE ARMAMENTS RACE;

(C)--A TOUGH APPROACH TO CHINA; AND

(D)--RESTRAINT TOWARD MOSCOW'S ARAB CLIENTS.

2. UNLIKE BREZHNEV, KIRILENKO APPEARS TO BE A FIRM ADVOCATE OF SOME GENUINE ECONOMIC REFORM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NATIONAL PLAN, AND HE URGES SOMEWHAT MORE STRICTLY A TIGHTENING OF DISCIPLINARY BONDS IN SOVIET SOCIETY. UPDATED REFERENCES TO BREZHNEV AND HIS FAVORITE DOMESTIC CAUSES ARE SOMEWHAT COOLER THAN IN THE ORIGINAL, WHILE KIRILENKO'S OWN IMPORTANCE IS RETROACTIVELY UPGRADED BY RECORDING A HIGHER LEVEL OF APPLAUSE FOR HIS 1970-75 SPEECHES THAN WAS ORIGINALLY THE CASE.

3. BIRTHDAY RITE

4. LIKE POLITBURO MEMBERS SUSLOV AND KOSYGIN BEFORE HIM, CC CPSU SECRETARY (FOR PARTY ORGANIZATION AND INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT) KIRILENKO WAS HONORED WITH THE PUBLICATION OF A ONE-VOLUME COMPILATION OF HIS SPEECHES AND ARTICLES IN CONNECTION WITH HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1976 (IZBRANNYE RECHI I STATI--SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES--MOSCOW, 1976).

5. PRAVDA ANNOUNCED PUBLICATION ON SEPTEMBER 9 AND CARRIED AN UNSIGNED REVIEW ON SEPTEMBER 29. PRAVDA'S CONFIDENTIAL

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REVIEW OF KIRILENKO'S LITERARY EFFORTS WAS PRELUDE TO THE ENIGMATIC DECISION TO HOLD HIS OFFICIAL BIRTHDAY RECEPTION ON OCTOBER 14, 1976, WHICH HAPPENED TO BE THE TWELFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WHICH FORMALLY OUSTED KHRUSHCHEV AND ELECTED BREZHNEV TO THE POST OF PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY. SOME OF THE DISTINCTIVELY NON-BREZHNEVIAN FEATURES OF KIRILENKO'S BOOK MAY HELP TO EXPLAIN WHY HIS BIRTHDAY APPARENTLY WAS NOT REGARDED IN SOME PARTY CIRCLES AS A CAUSE FOR CELEBRATION.

6. FOREIGN AND DEFENSE ISSUES

7. KIRILENKO'S ALIGNMENT WITH THE REGIME'S CONDUCT OF A Milder WESTERN POLICY IS REFLECTED IN HIS REPEATED USAGE OF CERTAIN MODERATE WATCHWORDS. ONE IS THE APPARENTLY CONTROVERSIAL FORMULA ALLOWING FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF MAKING DETENTE "IRREVERSIBLE." THAT FORMULA, WHICH GAINED CURRENCY ON THE EVE OF THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT IN 1973, BUT WHICH DISAPPEARED FROM THE CPSU MAY DAY SLOGANS IN 1976, NOW REAPPEARS IN A FULLER VERSION OF KIRILENKO'S OCTOBER 5, 1973, SPEECH AT A LOCAL AWARD CEREMONY AND IN THE TEXT OF HIS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED SPEECH AT THE KAMA AUTO WORKS ON JUNE 25, 1976. SIMILARLY, KIRILENKO'S WORDS TO A SVERDLOVSK ELECTION MEETING ON JUNE 11, 1974,

REFLECT A LESS FEARFUL VIEW OF THE OUTER WORLD THAN THAT SPREAD BY SOME SOVIET PUBLIC FIGURES: "THE MAIN THING IS THAT WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN KEEPING THE PEACE AND SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR." PRAVDA HAD OMITTED THAT LINE FROM ITS JUNE 12, 1974, SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH. (THE SAME OPTIMISTIC MESSAGE RECURS IN KIRILENKO SPEECHES OF MARCH 19, 1975, AND FEBRUARY 6, 1976, AND WAS FAITHFULLY RECORDED IN PRAVDA.)

8. KIRILENKO'S OPTIMISM ABOUT DETENTE PROSPECTS IS ACCOMPANIED BY A HINT THAT THE ARMS BURDEN ON THE SOVIET ECONOMY CAN BE EASED. SEVERAL OF HIS ORIGINAL CALLS FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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A STRENGTHENING OF DEFENSE WERE EXCISED OR TONED DOWN IN THE TEXTUAL REVISION. KIRILENKO'S NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD DEFENSE WAS IN TUNE WITH

(A)--POLITBURO MEMBER ANDROPOV'S REMARK IN HIS LENIN DAY REPORT (APRIL 22, 1976) THAT "AIMLESS WASTE OF MATERIAL RESOURCES FOR NO PURPOSE" COULD RESULT FROM "DELAY IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND EVEN MORE SO, SLIPPING BACK, IF ONLY TEMPORARILY";

(B)--ABSENCE OF THE TRADITIONAL CALL TO STRENGTHEN DEFENSE IN CIVILIAN DEFENSE MINISTER USTINOV'S V-E DAY ORDER OF MAY 8, 1976;

(C)--BREZHNEV'S RETURN TO THE NUCLEAR-WAR-IS-SUICIDE THEME IN HIS BUCHAREST SPEECH OF NOVEMBER 24, 1976.

9. KIRILENKO, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT SUMMIT DIPLOMACY. OMITTED FROM THE LENGTHIER TEXT OF HIS 1974 ELECTION SPEECH IS A WARM ENDORSEMENT OF BREZHNEV'S MEETINGS WITH WESTERN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT THAT APPEARED IN PRAVDA, JUNE 12, 1974. THE DELETION APPEARS SUBSTANTIVE GIVEN THE FACT THAT A TRIBUTE TO SUMMITRY WAS INCLUDED IN A MONOGRAPH OF THE CC CPSU ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES PUBLISHED ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS KIRILENKO'S BOOK (MEZHDUNARODNAYA POLITIKA KPSS I VNESHNIYE FUNKTSII SOVETSKOGO GOSUDARSTVA. MOSCOW: SIGNED TO PRESS AUGUST 12, 1976).

10. THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT SOVIET ADVOCATES OF A HARDER LINE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES GENERALLY ALSO FAVOR MOVES TO IMPROVE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. THUS IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT KIRILENKO'S UPGRADED PRO-DETENTE PROCLIVITIES ARE PARALLELED BY A DISCARDING OF HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF RESOLVING MOSCOW'S

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DIFFERENCES WITH PEKING (PRAVDA, DECEMBER 2, 1966;
JUNE 9, 1971; JUNE 12, 1974).

11. KIRILENKO'S INVOLVEMENT WITH MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS IN
THE POLITBURO SEEMS TO HAVE CONVINCED HIM THAT ARAB
GOVERNMENTS SHOULD PURSUE A MORE FLEXIBLE POLICY IN THEIR
DISPUTE WITH ISRAEL. DROPPED FROM THE REPRINTED VERSIONS
OF HIS 1972-73 SPEECHES ARE, IN ANY EVENT, REFERENCES TO

(A)--THE NEED FOR ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW FROM ALL ARAB TER-
RITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967 BEFORE A GENERAL PEACE SETTLE-
MENT CAN BE MADE;

(B)--THE POLITICAL COHESIVENESS OF ARAB STATES AND THE
VASTLY IMPROVED MORALE IN THEIR ARMIES (PRAVDA,
JANUARY 4, 1972; JANUARY 25, 1973; JULY 7, 1973;
NOVEMBER 7, 1973; MAY 29, 1974).

12. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

13. NEW MATERIALS FROM KIRILENKO SPEECHES OF 1965-70
SHOW THAT HE, MORE THAN BREZHNEV, FAVORED THE REGIME'S
MOVES TOWARD BROADER USE OF FINANCIAL INCENTIVES IN INDUS-
TRIAL OPERATIONS AND THE GRANTING OF LARGER AUTONOMY TO
MANAGEMENT EXPERTS (RESTORED TEXTS OF SPEECHES FIRST
REPORTED IN PRAVDA, NOVEMBER 14, 1965; DECEMBER 2, 1966;
SEPTEMBER 25, 1967; JUNE 6, 1970). THIS LIBERALIZING
RHETORIC ON METHODS FOR COPING WITH THE MAMMOTH EFFI-
CIENCY PROBLEM DOES SOMETHING TO EXPLAIN PRAVDA'S SUDDEN
REVIVAL OF TALK ABOUT ECONOMIC REFORM IN 1976. IT ALSO
SUGGESTS A COMPATIBILITY OF TEMPERAMENT ON THIS KEY
PROBLEM BETWEEN KIRILENKO AND KOSYGIN, WHO IN THE LAST
SIX MONTHS HAVE BEGUN TO APPEAR TOGETHER AT SESSIONS OF
THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DEVOTED TO THE FULFILLMENT
OF STATE ECONOMIC PLANS.

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14. THE COLLECTION OF SPEECHES BEARS SOME TELL-TALE SIGNS
OF DEVOTION TO A NARROW POLITICAL ORTHODOXY. KIRILENKO IS
REVEALED TO HAVE ADMONISHED HOMEGROWN CRITICS OF STALINISM
AND OTHER DISSENTERS IN A SPEECH AT THE KUYBYSHEV OBLAST
PARTY CONFERENCE ON FEBRUARY 16, 1968. A FRIENDLY
KIRILENKO GESTURE TO INTELLECTUALS MADE IN A SPEECH OF
FEBRUARY 5, 1970, WAS NULLIFIED BY DELETION OF THE FOLLOW-
ING WORDS IN SINGLE QUOTES FROM THE REPRINTED TEXT: "THE
PARTY AND SOVIET GOVERNMENT 'HIGHLY VALUE THE CREATIVE
LABOR OF OUR SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC INTELLIGENTSIA,'
AND CREATE ALL CONDITIONS FOR THE FURTHER
FLOURISHING OF SCIENCE AND CULTURE..." (PRAVDA,

FEBRUARY 6, 1970).

15. WHAT TO DO ABOUT SHAKY LABOR DISCIPLINE IS A CONTENTIOUS ISSUE IN SOVIET LEADERSHIP POLITICS, TO JUDGE FROM BREZHNEV'S SURFACING IN 1975 A REBUKE HE HAD DELIVERED AT THE DECEMBER 1969 PLENUM TO COMMUNISTS WHO WISHED TO USE THE BIG STICK ON VIOLATORS OF INTERNAL ORDER: "SOME COMRADES ;.. RECOLLECT PAST TIMES AND IN ESSENCE PROPOSE A RETURN TO THE METHODS OF EXCEPTIONAL INJUNCTION. I THINK THAT THIS IS AN UNSUITABLE RECIPE" (L. I. BREZHNEV, OB OSNOVNYKH VOPROSAKH EKONOMICHESKOY POLITIKI NA SOVREMENNOM ETAPE, RECHI I DOKLADY. MOSCOW: 1975). IN HIS SPEECH OF APRIL 30, 1976, AT THE ZIL AUTO WORKS IN MOSCOW, BREZHNEV AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY "TO PULL UP PRODUCTION DISCIPLINE." BUT THE NEXT DAY'S PRAVDA OMITTED FROM THE BROADCAST VERSION HIS ADDENDUM, "I THINK WE HAVE NO REASON TO GET EXCITED," SUGGESTING THE EXISTENCE OF DIFFERENCES ON THAT SCORE. KIRILENKO'S HARDNESS ON THE ISSUE IS RATHER CLEAR FROM HIS NEWLY PUBLISHED SPEECH OF JUNE 1976 AT THE KAMA AUTO WORKS:

"...THE LOSSES OF WORKING TIME, SHIRKING AND LATENESS MUST BE DECISIVELY ELIMINATED. ALL THE EMPLOYEES OF CONFIDENTIAL

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AN ENTERPRISE MUST SHARPLY REACT TO INSTANCES OF INDISCIPLINE AND NEGLIGENCE AND THE OUTPUT OF DEFECTIVE GOODS. STRENGTHEN BY ALL MEANS THE COLLECTIVIST MORALITY, PROPER ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK AND THE PEOPLE'S PROPERTY...."

16. PARENTHETICALLY, THE EDITOR OF KIRILENKO'S BOOK, I. P. POMELOV, SEEMS TO BE ONE OF THE POLITICALLY DIEHARD IDEOLOGICAL FUNCTIONARIES. HE WAS EARLY CHOSEN TO ATTACK DISSIDENT INTELLECTUALS AS "ANTI-PATRIOTS" AND WARN AGAINST A FOREIGN "CAMPAIGN FOR THE EXIT OF SOVIET CITIZENS OF JEWISH NATIONALITY TO ISRAEL" (PRAVDA, JANUARY 8, 1971). NOT LONG AFTER THE 1972 MOSCOW SUMMIT, POMELOV WAS EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THOUGHT CONTROLS IN A PERIOD OF EXPANDED CONTACT WITH THE WEST (KOMMUNIST, NO. 12, SIGNED TO PRESS AUGUST 16, 1972). AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, POMELOV'S WRITINGS ON THE NATIONALITY QUESTION ARE NOT AS STARKLY RUSSIAN-CHAUVINIST AS THOSE OF OTHER PARTY PROPAGANDISTS.

17. BREZHNEV: LESS OF A COMRADE

18. KIRILENKO'S BOOK CONTAINS MUCH PRAISE OF BREZHNEV, WHOM THE NO. 2 LEADER CHOSE TO HAIL IN STALINESQUE

LANGUAGE AS "CHIEF" (VOZHD) AT HIS KREMLIN BIRTHDAY FETE

ON OCTOBER 14, 1976. WHATEVER THE MOTIVE FOR KIRILENKO'S SALUTE TO BREZHNEV ON THAT OCCASION, THERE ARE EMENDATIONS OF OLD TEXT IN KIRILENKO'S BOOK WHICH RAISE THE SUSPICION THAT HIS DECADES-LONG RELATIONSHIP WITH BREZHNEV IS SUBJECT TO STRAINS. IN OTHER WORDS, KIRILENKO'S LAUDING OF BREZHNEV COULD AT TIMES BE MORE RITUALISTIC THAN SINCERE.

19. ITEM 1. ALTHOUGH BREZHNEV IS OFTEN DESIGNATED "COMRADE" IN KIRILENKO'S VOLUME, THAT FRIENDLY PREFIX
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WAS DROPPED FROM 18 SENTENCES IN MATERIALS DATING FROM 1970.

20. ITEM 2. KIRILENKO IN HIS 1974 ELECTION SPEECH CLAIMED THAT THE POLITBURO WAS CONCERNED WITH FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS ON A DAILY BASIS AND, ACCORDING TO PRAVDA (JUNE 12, 1974), WENT ON TO SAY: "CC CPSU GENERAL SECRETARY COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV IS MAKING AN OUTSTANDING PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF INSURING FAVORABLE EXTERNAL CONDITIONS FOR BUILDING COMMUNISM, SOLIDIFYING THE UNITY OF LANDS OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, STRENGTHENING PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF THE PEOPLES." THIS KUDO IS ABSENT FROM THE BOOK VERSION AND, ASSUMING THAT PRAVDA DID NOT TAKE LIBERTIES WITH THE ORIGINAL TEXT, KIRILENKO OR HIS EDITOR MAY BE IMPLYING THAT BREZHNEV THE DIPLOMAT HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN HIS DUE.

21. ITEM 3. A 1972 PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DECREE WHICH BREZHNEV SPONSORED ORDERING WORK ON A 1976-90 "PROSPECTUS" FOR THE SOVIET ECONOMY ALSO SEEMS TO HAVE GENERATED CONTROVERSY. THE SCHEME HAS NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD BECAUSE IT REQUIRES KOSYGIN'S APPARATUS TO ADOPT NEW METHODS OF PLANNING OUTPUT IN INDUSTRIAL SECTORS THAT DO NOT ALWAYS COINCIDE WITH THE JURISDICTIONAL BOUNDARIES OF MOSCOW MINISTRIES IN CHARGE OF PARTICULAR BRANCHES. GIVEN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE DELETION OF SEVERAL REFERENCES TO LONG-RANGE PLANNING IN THE "UPDATING" OF KIRILENKO SPEECHES MAY REFLECT A RELUCTANCE TO ANTAGONIZE THE MOSCOW INDUSTRIAL BUREAUCRACY, WHICH THE DEPUTY PARTY LEADER SUPERVISES.

22. KIRILENKO'S RETROACTIVE ADVANCE

23. DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS OR SO, A RISE IN KIRILENKO'S POLITICAL STRENGTH HAS BEEN REGISTERED BY:

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(A)--MENTION OF HIS WARTIME ROLE IN A LECTURE BOOKLET PEGGED TO THE 30TH V-E DAY CELEBRATION AND WRITTEN BY ARMY GEN. KULIKOV, THEN CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF (WORLD-HISTORIC VICTORY OF SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR, MOSCOW, SIGNED TO PRESS APRIL 1, 1975). KULIKOV, RUMORED TO HAVE BEEN FRIENDLY WITH KIRILENKO AND KOSYGIN, WAS SUBSEQUENTLY SHIFTED TO THE LESS IMPORTANT POST OF WARSAW PACT COMMANDER IN JANUARY 1977;

(B)--NAMING OF G. V. KOLBIN AS SECOND SECRETARY OF THE GEORGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON APRIL 14, 1975; KOLBIN'S CAREER HISTORY INDICATES AN EARLY DEPENDENCE ON KIRILENKO;

(C)--KIRILENKO'S SHARING WITH BREZHNEV THE ENCOMIUM OF "TRUE LENINIST" IN PRAVDA'S APRIL 25, 1975, REPORT ON THE OPENING ROUND OF NOMINATIONS FOR REPUBLIC SOVIET ELECTIONS;

(D)--A KOMMUNIST EDITORIAL QUOTING HIM, ALONG WITH BREZHNEV AND SUSLOV, ON THE DOCTRINAL VALUE OF THE CC CPSU ACCOUNTABILITY REPORT TO THE 25TH CONGRESS (NO. 7, SIGNED TO PRESS MAY 4, 1976);

(E)--REFERENCES TO HIS "GREAT ROLE" AND "MULTI-FACETED WORK" IN THE RECOVERY OF ZAPOROZHE INDUSTRY AFTER WORLD WAR II IN A PRAVDA, JUNE 7, 1976, REVIEW OF THE BOOK DNIEPER FLAMES (KIEV: 1976);

(F)--HIS PARTICIPATION IN JULY 1976 AND JANUARY 1977 SESSIONS OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DEVOTED TO ECONOMIC PLAN FULFILLMENT; AND

(G)--RECRUITMENT OF YA. P. RYABOV INTO THE CC CPSU SECRETARIAT AT THE OCTOBER 1976 PLENUM; RYABOV IS ANOTHER OF KIRILENKO'S FORMER ASSOCIATES IN SVERDLOVSK WHO CONFIDENTIAL

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ARGUED FOR MORE COLLECTIVITY OF PARTY LEADERSHIP IN PRAVDA, JUNE 23, 1976, AND RESTATED HIS CASE WITH THE APHORISM "TWO HEADS ARE BETTER THAN ONE" IN PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, NO. 17 (SIGNED TO PRESS AUGUST 24), 1976.

24. KIRILENKO'S BOOK TAKES THIS UPGRADING OF STATUS A STEP FURTHER BY CLAIMING THAT SINCE 1969 HIS SPEECHES HAVE EVOKED FROM COMMUNIST AUDIENCES IN THE USSR AND EAST EUROPE THE SAME KIND OF TUMULTUOUS REACTION AS BREZHNEV'S. A COMPARISON OF THE PRAVDA APPLAUSE METER READINGS AT THE END OF KIRILENKO SPEECHES AND THOSE NOW GIVEN IN SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES SHOWS AN UPGRADING FROM "APPLAUSE" TO "STORMY" AND "STORMY, PROLONGED APPLAUSE." IF THERE WERE POLITICAL REASONS FOR ATTRIBUTING SPECIAL VIRTUE

("ALL STAND.") TO KIRILENKO'S MARCH 22, 1969, SPEECH, IT MAY HAVE BEEN THE HERETOFORE-UNPUBLISHED PASSAGES WHICH NOTE LARGE INCREASES OF INVESTMENT IN THE CONSUMER GOODS INDUSTRIES AND THE VOW TO DEFEND SOVIET BORDERS AGAINST CHINESE ENCROACHMENTS WHILE CONTINUING TO STRIVE FOR DETENTE WITH THE WEST. IN ANY EVENT, KIRILENKO'S EGOTISM WAS PUT ON DISPLAY ONCE MORE AT HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY RECEPTION, WHEN HE AVOIDED THE SHOW OF HUMBLENESS CUSTOMARY FOR THOSE HONORED ON SUCH OCCASIONS AND FLAUNTED AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY STUDDED WITH POLITICAL EXPLOITS.

25. WHO IS KIRILENKO?

26. ONLY TIME MIGHT TELL IF KIRILENKO HAS BECOME A RIVAL OF BREZHNEV FOR SUPREME POWER. ENOUGH, HOWEVER, IS KNOWN TO SPECULATE THAT KIRILENKO IS AN INDEPENDENT PERSONALITY AND AMBITIOUS. THE IMAGE OF KIRILENKO WHICH HIS BOOK TENDS TO PROJECT IS THAT OF SOMEONE WHO WISHES TO

(A)--WORK FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING WITH THE UNITED STATES, BUT WITHOUT THE FANFARE OF DRAMATIC LEADERSHIP
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AGREEMENTS;

(B)--MAKE NO SPECIAL BID FOR THE FAVOR OF CHINA;

(C)--AVOID A FORWARD STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST;

(D)--KEEP A BALANCE BETWEEN THE PARTY MACHINE AND INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS IN MOSCOW AS A PRECAUTION AGAINST OUTBREAKS OF ECONOMIC REGIONALISM; AND

(E)--SAFEGUARD THE "HEROIC PAST" LEST THERE BE A FURTHER EROSION OF SOCIAL DISCIPLINE.

IN CONTRAST, BREZHNEV HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT MORE LOYAL TO THE KHRUSHCHEV HERITAGE INsofar AS HE IS A CHAMPION OF SUMMIT DIPLOMACY, CLEAR-CUT PREDOMINANCE OF THE PARTY MACHINE OVER THE CENTRAL TECHNOCRATS, AND A CONCILIATORY APPROACH TOWARD THE VARIED SOCIAL GROUPS. SUCH DIVERGENCIES OF POLITICAL OUTLOOK AS THOSE HYPOTHESIZED HERE BETWEEN BREZHNEV AND KIRILENKO MAY TO SOME EXTENT ACCOUNT FOR THE VARIATIONS AND IMMOBILISM IN KREMLIN POLICY DURING RECENT YEARS. IF THIS IS CORRECT, THEY ARE LIKELY TO PLAGUE THE KREMLIN SCENE FOR AS LONG AS BOTH MEN REMAIN ON THE ACTIVE LEADERSHIP LIST.

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